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4009-4010 *His lif beð bliðe, his ending sal,*
ðe timeð al-so ðis timen sal.

Inasmuch as 4010 corresponds to Comestor, *Num. 33, Moriatur anima mea morte iustorum, et fiant mea horum similia*, it is probable that *ðe timeð* is an error of the copyist for *me time*.

4027-4028 *ðis leun sal oðer folc freten,*
Lond canaan al preige bi-geten.

For *al*, read *als*.

4112 *ðat al ðin folc wurð war.*

Some emendation is required for metrical reasons. Supply *ðor-of* after *folc*.

W. STRUNK, JR.

Cornell University.

SPANISH LITERATURE.

RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *L'Épopée castillane à travers la littérature espagnole*. Traduction de HENRI MÉRIMÉE, avec une préface de ERNEST MÉRIMÉE. Paris, Colin, 1910. 12mo., xxvi + 306 pp.

R. Menéndez Pidal has probably shed more new light on the Old Spanish epic than any other living man, and students of that subject have learned to approach each new publication of his with the certainty of finding new facts and novel points of view. They will not be disappointed in the present volume, although not properly a work of research. It consists of the lectures delivered in French by the author at Johns Hopkins University in the spring of 1909, and now made accessible to the public in a revised form. The titles of the seven lectures (*Les origines de l'épopée castillane, Castille et Léon, Le "Poème de mon Cid," Le Cid et Chimène, Le "romancero," Le théâtre classique, La matière épique dans la poésie moderne*) indicate sufficiently that the speaker had no intention of offering his hearers a complete analysis of the Old Spanish epic; his desire was to generalize as much as possible and to make clear the forces which formed the epic spirit, and the power which it exerted on the literature of later times. In this

he has been eminently successful, without giving a detailed account of any of the poetic themes except those of Fernán González and the Cid.

The first chapter is the one calculated to excite the most interest among scholars, and will certainly provoke discussion, for it contains a new theory of the origin of the early Castilian epic poems. It has long been the fashion, supported chiefly by the writings of Gaston Paris, to declare the Spanish medieval epics children of the French, which were certainly more numerous and more fully developed. A few passages in the *Poema del Cid*, showing knowledge of French methods; a number of Carolingian romances, obviously based on the later poems dealing with the twelve peers; the stories of Bernardo del Carpio and Mainet, owing their inception to French legends;—this was the basis for the argument. The attempt has even been made (not with success in the reviewer's opinion) to show that the meter of the *Poema* was an adaptation of, or approximation to, the French alexandrine. It was assumed that epics did not appear in Spain till after the French heroic poetry had attained full growth.

But the increased knowledge within a few years of the unexpected extent and variety of the Castilian poems (knowledge due, in large measure, to R. Menéndez Pidal himself) has caused the French theory to look less imposing. And now the young professor of Madrid declares boldly that the Gallic element in the Castilian epics on native subjects is negligible, and that the true source is to be sought in Germanic traditions, in the legends and poetry brought with them by the Visigoths when they entered Spain.

His argument may be summarized thus: There is no evidence that French civilization or literature penetrated Spain before about 1100. The events which gave rise to the epics on Fernán González and the Infantes de Lara occurred in the tenth century; the first poems were probably composed soon after the deeds. There is slight French influence in the *Poema del Cid* and later poems; but in general the whole conception and method of treatment differ in France and Castile. The existence of songs of epic nature among the early Germanic tribes is attested by Tacitus; other witnesses can be adduced for the same phenomenon among the Visigoths in the fourth century, but

unfortunately not after their conquest of Spain. There is, however, every reason to suppose that they still celebrated their national heroes in verse. One of them was Walter of Spain, or Walter of Aquitania, who lived at the time of Attila and was famous all over Europe. His legend was put into Latin hexameters by the monk Ekkehard (tenth century). His story is also preserved in the Spanish *romance* of Gaiferos (Wolf, *Primavera y Flor de romances*, no. 173); many details are strikingly similar. (We cannot repress a smile at seeing our old acquaintance Gaiferos, he who was manipulated by the agile fingers of Ginés de Pasamonte for the benefit of Don Quijote (II, 26), converted into the stout hero whose adventures we remember reading, long ago, in Scheffel's *Ekkehard*). The customs described in the Castilian epics are Germanic. Although Spain adopted some themes from the nation to the north (Bernardo, Mainet), French influence upon the epics of native subject, even on the *Poema del Cid*, which was composed at the time when French civilization was in most close contact with that of Spain, is of the slightest and purely external. The rigorously historical and realistic nature of the Castilian epic contrasts sharply with the exaggerations and enchantments of the French.

The Castilians were the only people of the Peninsula to inherit the heroic poetry of the Visigoths. This in spite of the fact that the Leonese maintained the governmental machinery of the last Visigothic rulers, whilst the Castilians rebelled against it. Castile rested upon a Celtiberian foundation, and León, Aragon and Catalonia were based on Iberian stock.

Such is the substance of Menéndez Pidal's theory, which is of far-reaching importance and cannot fail to act as a sharp stimulus to Hispanic studies. It is the inevitable result of the recent discoveries in the field of Spanish medieval poetry. So long as two poems about the Cid were the only Castilian epics known to exist in verse form, so long as the historical *romances* were thought to be relics of primitive songs woven into lengthy poems only under French influence, and the Carolingian *romances*, so numerous and long, were known to be taken from French sources, it was easy to say that what few Spanish epics existed were mere offshoots of the luxuriant growth across the Pyre-

nees. But the work of Milá and his pupils, which need not be recapitulated here, has made that position no longer impregnable. The Spaniards were certain to attack it. It is beyond doubt that the Carolingian *romances* are of late origin; that long before them there were Castilian epics exhibiting strong poetic qualities and based on purely national events. Whence did they come? Is it not more natural to assume that the spirit of heroic poetry among the Visigoths persisted unbroken than to suppose conscious imitation of French poems, themselves admittedly of Germanic origin? Would it not be strange that these imitations of a poetry quite different in character should pitch upon subjects, like that of the Infantes de Lara, of private nature, based on events one or two hundred years old?

On the other hand, it is inevitable that in a first presentation of such a new and remote matter there should be parts not altogether clear and complete. The novelty of Menéndez Pidal's theory, as well as the broad character of the lectures, entail a certain lack of absolute proof. It will some time be necessary, for example, to make a fuller comparative study of the French and Spanish epics from the new viewpoint, and in the light of the recent labors of Bédier, for it is obvious that the literary origins of the two nations cannot be kept entirely separate. And one might point to weak links in the chain of facts adduced which need to be strengthened by additional evidence. The fact that the copenetration of French and Spanish civilizations was greatest about 1100 does not prove that there was none previous to that time; and it is not likely that the Oxford version of the *Chanson de Roland* was the first French epic, when the battle which gave rise to it occurred in 778. One can perhaps grant without too much credulity that the Visigoths continued to sing of their heroes after they entered Spain, even if there is not the slightest proof of it, and the conquerors were few in number compared with the earlier Romanized inhabitants of the Peninsula. It may not be possible to maintain that the population of Castile was Celtiberian when that of León was Iberian, for these pre-Roman distinctions, dubious in themselves, must have been altered by the successive waves of invasion that swept the land; it is not easy to see what

connection that has with the preservation of Visigothic poetical tradition in Castile alone, if that be a fact.

Nor are we prepared to concede all the force which Menéndez Pidal seems to give to the analogies between the *Gaiferos romance* and the legend of Walter of Aquitania. The resemblances are striking, as Milá pointed out in 1874, and it may be that Gaiferos and Melisenda are really Waltarius and Hiltgunde, their names modified by contamination with other heroes and heroines (Waifarius and Belissent). But the story might have been borrowed from foreign or erudite sources as well as from native tradition more than a thousand years old; and the facts in hand hardly bear out the assertion that "nous devons considérer le romance de Gaifer comme un fragment, conservé par le hasard, du lien mystérieux qui unit l'épopée visigothe à la poésie héroïque castillane." It may be that the lecturer will develop this point more fully at some future time, and at least we may hope that his extreme diligence and scholarship will produce the new documentation required to prove a theory attractive in itself.

In the other chapters devoted to the Middle Ages Menéndez Pidal goes fully into the epic material concerning Fernán González and the Cid, and mentions only by the way King Roderick, Bernardo del Carpio and the Infantes de Lara. Chapter II describes the traditional hostility between Castile and León. The author believes, as was noted above, that the source of it was a basic difference of racial structure: Castile, the Celtiberian, being progressive and rebellious; León, Iberian (as were also Aragon and Catalonia), being conservative, fond of tradition and wedded to the Visigothic system of government. It is heartily to be wished that the ideas here expressed in all too concise form may some time be expanded; for it is a difficult problem to determine what elements composed the population of the various provinces of Spain as they were wrested from the Moors. The author states that Castile alone inherited the Visigothic heroic poetry, just as certain regions of France, in which the Germanic element was strongest, alone produced the Old French epic.

The Castilian erudite *Poema de Fernán González* is summarized as an example of the hatred

of León, preserved in an attenuated form, but with traces of the popular epic which surely existed. Even after the union of Castile and León on equal terms in the person of Fernando I, the enmity and wars continued, and received poetic expression in the lost *cantares* of the death of king Fernando (also called *La Partición de los reinos*), and of *El Cerco de Zamora*. The author gives abstracts, based on the prose versions of the *Primera crónica general* and the *Segunda crónica general* (de 1344) of these two highly poetic epics, which have left traces in some of the finest fragments of the *romancero*.¹ The epic of Fernán González was partisan, strongly favoring Castile; that of the Siege of Zamora, more lofty and artistic, presents an impartiality which foreshadows the truly national epic, the *Cantar de Mio Cid*.

The Cid is the hero of chapters III and IV, and national pride inspires in the lecturer eloquent and illuminating paragraphs. He tells the story of the *Mio Cid*, and makes a striking comparison between its author and Velázquez; both exemplify the best side of the Spanish national genius, a tranquil realism, without effort or exaggeration, that remains faithful to history in spirit, however it may idealize details. The later epic describing the Youth of Rodrigo is, however, a degenerate invention, full of gross fictions. Menéndez Pidal distinguishes two versions of the *Rodrigo*: the first, preserved in the prose of the *Crónica de 1344*; the second, the well-known *Crónica rimada*, which he places at about 1400. Various details prove at least that it is later than 1344. In the *prosified* story the Cid is still respectful toward his monarch, but in the *Crónica rimada* he becomes a turbulent rebel, overawing his king by sheer bravado, as did the heroes of the late French *chansons de geste*. This is the type adopted by the *romancero*.

¹ Menéndez Pidal gives the reasons, based largely upon the as yet inaccessible *Segunda crónica general*, for supposing that the *Cantar del rey don Fernando* or *de la partición de los reinos* was distinct from the *Cantar del cerco de Zamora*. Milá (*Obras completas*, VII, 262) and Menéndez y Pelayo (*Tratado de los romances viejos*, I, 335) had already promulgated the same theory. Each new study of the Old Spanish epic makes it clearer that an edition of the *Crónica de 1344* entire is an absolute necessity if we are to be able to study at first hand the *prosifications* of the lost poems.

The gradual evolution of the Cid's love-story is laid minutely before the reader, from the bare fact of history and the conjugal affection of the *Mío Cid*, through the rude courtship described in the *Rodrigo* and the romantic incidents added by the *romancero*, to the love-drama of conflicting passions imagined by Guillén de Castro and given wide currency by Corneille. In tracing this history Menéndez Pidal brings out once more the fact which it has been his special mission to establish, namely, that it is now possible to follow the whole development of the Castilian epic from the twelfth century to the *romances*, without solution of continuity.

Chapter V, although compact, is a most luminous account of the formation and development of the Spanish ballad. The earliest group of *romances* was formed by the disintegration of the old historical epics; the most striking episodes were remembered and repeated by the people, and changed greatly in the course of time. The second group came from the application of a similar process to poems of *juglares* who celebrated French heroes, but gave them deeds of Spanish invention. Then there came the attractive cycle of *romances* dealing with contemporary history; Pedro el Cruel, and the unceasing struggles of Moors and Christians. They show a prolongation of the primitive epic spirit which is not found so late in any other continental nation. It seems to have lost its creative force at about the time of the conquest of Granada, but the popularity of the *romances viejos* increased steadily throughout the sixteenth century. Fame was followed by imitation. The erudite poetasters Fuentes and Sepúlveda (1550-1) attempted to supplant fiction by what they deemed fact, in verse, with lamentable results. Toward 1600 the greatest poets of the *siglo de oro* wrote *romances* on every conceivable subject, by no means confining themselves to historical themes. Their poems about the Cid are better known to the educated classes to-day than are the old ballads on the same subject. Meanwhile the *romances viejos* lived in the memory of the lower classes, and were carried by emigration to other parts of the world, so that modern traditional versions are found all over Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking territory, —in Morocco, Turkey, South America, Madeira,

the Azores, etc. This is a field which has been much studied by Menéndez Pidal of late years, and he has promised a *Romancero general* which shall include the best of the poems gleaned by modern collectors from the lips of peasants.

The sixth chapter deals with the national epic as it influenced the drama of the *siglo de oro*. Menéndez Pidal implies, though he does not make the statement in so many words, that the popularity of the old ballads in the sixteenth century may have saved Spain from the fate of France, and rescued the Spanish stage from servile subjection to pseudo-classic rules. The subjects of Spanish plays in the first half of the sixteenth century were taken from Italian comedies and *novelle*, or pastorals, romances of chivalry and the *Celestina*. In 1579 Juan de la Cueva produced a play, *La Muerte del rey don Sancho*, based on the legends of the Siege of Zamora, and quoted lines from a popular *romance* (Wolf, *Primavera*, no. 45). Cueva opened the way to more talented authors who exploited the national history, both real and legendary, upon the stage. *Romances*, and especially the Chronicles, those repositories of lost epics, were plundered to enrich the drama. Lope de Vega, with seventy plays, was the most brilliant and fertile in this field; but he was rivalled by Guillén de Castro, Luis Vélez de Guevara, and other lesser lights. This is a question which has already been discussed at some length by Menéndez y Pelayo in the *Antología de poetas líricos*, vol. ix, pp. 259-279, and in the introductions to the Academy edition of Lope de Vega; but Menéndez Pidal has succeeded in finding additional material. The second generation of dramatists, led by Calderón, cast aside the *romances* as such, and preserved the heroic fictions only in a modernized, emasculated form.

In tracing the further course of the epic matter, (chapter VII) the eighteenth century, divided between decadent Gongorism and ill-digested pseudo-classicism, could furnish little material. One might have expected, perhaps, a mention of the *romances* of the elder Moratín, some of which show a curious knowledge and use of the old ballads. But the advent of romanticism presaged renewed interest in the Middle Ages. In Spain the movement was initiated from without. Englishmen and Germans discovered before Spaniards

the beauties of some of the old Castilian legends; Hookham Frere guided the muse of the Duque de Rivas to *El moro expósito*, and Walter Scott inspired Zorrilla. Menéndez Pidal devotes the major part of his last chapter to the latter. He presents a picture both critical and sympathetic of the little genius, lovable and conceited, whose vivid imagination played at will upon medieval history and legend, believing or discarding, and in case of need inventing. In *El zapatero y el rey*, *Sancho García*, *El puñal del godo*, Zorrilla created tradition with great freedom. In *Granada* (1852) he employed a more severe historical method, and this unfinished epic, inspired by the best frontier ballads, was his last masterpiece. The *Leyenda del Cid*, written thirty years later, is a verbose paraphrase of all the Cid ballads, without discrimination.

Blasco Ibáñez, the foremost Spanish novelist who is active at the present day, paid tribute to a medieval epic in *El conde Garci Fernández* (1888). Younger literary men, stimulated perhaps by the recent publications of Menéndez y Pelayo and Menéndez Pidal himself, have shown increasing signs of turning to the most genuine old sources; witness Marquina's *Las hijas del Cid* (1908), a play based upon a study of the *Mío Cid* itself.

Thus, says Menéndez Pidal in conclusion, the national epic tradition, more continuous in Spain than in any other country, extends down to the very present. Far from having exhausted its power, it is able to direct both literature and life in the future, if by profound inquiry into the *archeological psychology* of the Middle Ages Spaniards will discover the secrets of that energetic race from which they are descended.

Those who know Menéndez Pidal only by his works of pure erudition, those for example who have never read his address upon reception into the Spanish Academy, will be delighted at the power of generalization and depth of literary insight displayed in this volume. It is the true test of learning to be able to grasp a vast number of scattered facts, order them wisely and lay bare the forces that gave them birth.

One should not leave unnoticed the preface by Ernest Mérimée, part of which is devoted to the previous publications of R. Menéndez Pidal.

Many of his writings have been scattered in out of the way corners, in the *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo* (1899), in another *Homenaje* to Almeida-Garrett (Genoa, 1900), in still another to the Arabist Codera y Zaidín (1904), and elsewhere; and it is a relief to have an authoritative list placed before one. Finally, the book contains a very complete analytical table of contents, and an index of proper names and titles in both French and Spanish. These useful compilations remove the work from the category of a collection of detached studies, and give it the value of a reference-book.

S. GRISWOLD MORLEY.

University of Colorado.

Grillparzers Werke. Im Auftrage der Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien herausgegeben von AUGUST SAUER. Erster Band. Die Ahnfrau. Sappho.—Wien und Leipzig: Gerlach und Wiedling, 1909.

Der lang ersehnte erste Band der neuen, kritischen Grillparzer-Ausgabe ist endlich erschienen und gereicht dem Herausgeber wie der Auftraggeberin zur höchsten Ehre. Was der Eingeweihte nicht anders erwartete, ist zur Tat geworden: ein mustergültiges Werk. Wir haben die Garantie, dass für Grillparzer jetzt dasselbe geleistet wird, wie für Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Herder und neuerdings Wieland. Der deutsche Klassiker aus Österreich kommt zu seinem Recht. Endlich wird der Welt sein gesamtes Schaffen erschlossen, dessen volles Verständnis ermöglicht. Jetzt erst beginnt die "Wissenschaft" von Grillparzer,—die hoffentlich die Freude an dem Dichter nicht in Kleinphilologie begräbt.

Sauer hat in seiner umsichtigen Weise den Stoff zweckmässig in zwei getrennte Abteilungen gegliedert, mit folgender Anordnung im Einzelnen: I) die Werke der reifen Zeit; die Dramen, dramatischen Fragmente, Satiren und Übersetzungen; die Gedichte und Epigramme; die Erzählungen, Prosa-Satiren und Prosa-Aufsätze; die zusammenhängenden Studien und schliesslich die übrige Masse von zerstreuten Prosa-Aufzeichnungen. II) die Jugendwerke; die Tagebücher